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SEPTEMBER 3, 1960



Will be Disarmament Day

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

SEPTEMBER 3, THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR II, WILL SEE A NATION-WIDE PROTEST AGAINST PREPARATIONS FOR WAR AND A DETERMINED EFFORT TO BRING THOUSANDS OF NEW SUPPORTERS INTO THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT.

New light on

## THE CRIME OF HIROSHIMA

US State Department records confirm that President Truman atom-bombed Hiroshima despite earlier peace moves by the Japanese, said a report in the late edition of Tuesday's *News Chronicle*.

Official records of the Potsdam Conference had leaked from the State Department, the paper reported.

While the report adds little that is new to the information previously carried by *Peace News*, it does state that on July 18, 1945, at the Potsdam Conference, President Truman concurred with Stalin in putting off Japanese attempts to get the Russians to act as mediators.

President Truman's own memoirs give the impression that the Russians acted independently in rebuffing the Japanese moves.

Sources of evidence before this week's State Department leak included Sir Winston Churchill's War Memoirs and Captain B. H. Liddell Hart's article in *John Bull*, Sept. 3, 1955, where he wrote:

*The Japanese Government's desire for peace had been known months before. Just before Christmas, 1944, the US intelligence authorities received a report . . . that a peace party was emerging and gaining ground . . . General Koiso's*

In Scotland the 400-mile, three-week-long Edinburgh-London March will assemble on Calton Hill at 2.30, moving off at 3 p.m. after hearing Emrys Hughes, MP, the Rev. Clifford Maquire and Mervyn Jones.

Its route through Waterloo Place, the North and South Bridges, West Richmond Street, St. Leonards Street and Old Dalkeith Road will lead to the mining town of Dalkeith, where, joined by miners, there will be a meeting addressed by the Rev. Angus McKinnon, Emrys Hughes, MP, Mervyn Jones and Roderick Farquhar, Chairman of the Scottish CND.

Michael Craft, Chairman of the London Region CND which

initiated the march, said this week:

"We want to rally support to bring pressure to bear upon the Party Conferences—particularly that of the Labour Party—in favour of unilateralism.

"Secondly, to present some of the case in public at this crucial time for an international grouping of non-nuclear nations, stimulated into being by British disarmament, and to elaborate on British withdrawal from NATO.

"We know only too well that this call to action comes at a time when many people are on holiday, but a show of strength now is of crucial importance."

London Region participation in the march starts on Thursday, Sept. 22, when the marchers leave Luton for St. Albans and Watford.

The march will pass through Stafford, where a number of the Foulness demonstrators are imprisoned. Enthusiasm in the town, which has not hitherto had a CND group, is mounting. The Co-op is to provide catering, the police are re-routing traffic, and the Mayor and Council will come out to greet the marchers.

In London on Sept. 3 there will be a 9 a.m.-9 p.m. picket in Whitehall and a loudspeaker tour and leafleting campaign will be launched to publicise the final stages of the march and the Trafalgar Square rally to be held on Sept. 24 when the marchers enter London.

**At Greenham Common**

At Newbury, Berks., an "anti-H-bomb" patrol will be out on the A4 Bath Road



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*The Japanese Government's desire for peace had been known months before. Just before Christmas, 1944, the US intelligence authorities received a report . . . that a peace party was emerging and gaining ground . . . General Koiso's government . . . would soon be succeeded by a peace-seeking government under Admiral Suzuki which would initiate negotiations. This prediction was fulfilled in April.*

Confirmation of Liddell Hart is to be found in a statement by Admiral Zacharias, Deputy Director of Naval Intelligence, who was reported as saying in May, 1950 :

*Early in 1945 Emperor Hirohito asked the Vatican to find out American terms in preparation for peace negotiations. . . On June 26 an Imperial conference was called and the Emperor ordered his advisers to prepare immediate plans to end the war on whatever terms Japan could obtain from us.*

## Four try to enter atom laboratory

**F**OUR men who tried to enter the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory in Livermore, California, following a state-wide Hiroshima Day vigil there, have been freed despite their refusal to accept the terms of probation imposed on them. They are Roy Kepler, Hal Stallings, Sam Tyson and Jerry Wheeler.

Purpose of the attempted entry was to talk with the administrators and workers. The group sponsoring the vigil had sought permission in vain. Dr. Harold Brown, whom Dr. Edward Teller, "father of the H-bomb," has appointed director of the laboratory, had refused to meet with the group. Finally, Roy Kepler succeeded in talking with him through the technique of a surprise visit to his home on a Sunday. The two had an amicable discussion, but Brown remained adamant in barring entry into the lab.



COLLECTING FACTS ABOUT FALL-OUT.

In St. Louis, Missouri, thousands of Americans, from toddlers to grandparents, are involved in finding out how much Strontium 90 from nuclear tests fall-out is actually being absorbed by children. Peace News next week will tell the story of the Baby Tooth Survey which is engaged in collecting and analysing 50,000 primary teeth from babies in the area. It has been organised by the Greater St. Louis Citizens' Committee for Nuclear Information.

Laboratory work shown in progress in this St. Louis Post-Dispatch picture is being financed by a \$3,000 grant from Consumers Union, an organisation that tests and reports on products sold to the public.

## Non-violent economics urged

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

**I**NTERNATIONAL 'non-violence' is no longer merely the fond hope of a few imaginative or saintly cranks; it has become generally understood as an iron necessity for survival," Prof. E. F. Schumacher, Economic Adviser of the National Coal Board, declared in last Sunday's *Observer*.

In a full-page article entitled "Non-violent Economics: Next Task for Mankind," he declared that "non-violence must permeate the whole of man's activities if mankind is to be secure against a war of annihilation."

Man's urgent task was to find a non-violent way in his economic as well as in his political life.

the town, which has not hitherto had a CND group, is mounting. The Co-op is to provide catering, the police are re-routing traffic, and the Mayor and Council will come out to greet the marchers.

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## At Greenham Common

At Newbury, Berks., an "anti-H-bomb" patrol will be out on the A4 Bath Road demanding the closure of the American bomber base nearby at Greenham Common.

It will start at 9 a.m. Supporters wishing to arrive the night before should apply in advance for accommodation to Ted Berrow, "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill, Alton, Hants. (Tel. Alton 2121.)

In Bristol a Disarmament Rally on September 3 will wind up the Direct Action Committee's Industrial Campaign at aircraft works in the city.

Supported by the Bristol Trades Council, the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Bristol Peace Council has organised the rally and march which starts at 2 p.m. at Filton Church, arrives at Horfield Common 2.30 p.m., at King Square at 3.30 p.m., and proceeds via Haymarket to the Cenotaph where a wreath will be laid.

On Sept. 8 in London there is to be a big public meeting in St. Pancras Town Hall to present anew the case for unilateralism and to invigorate support for the march.

Among the speakers will be the Rev. Michael Scott, Alex Comfort, Stuart Hall, Constance Cummings and Sydney Silverman, M.P.

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# One exception at the Olympics: South Africa

By **FENNER BROCKWAY, MP**

*Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom*



THE Olympic Games are an inspiring example of racial equality and international co-operation. Athletes from all the Continents, of every pigment of skin, compete. Nigerians, Ghanaians, Indians test their skill with the best of the White races. Some of the finest performers in the American team are Negroes. The Cold War is forgotten; Americans compete with Russians. All the races live together in a great international community.

This is in accordance with the principle of the Games. From the first it was laid down that there should be no distinction on grounds of race, colour, religion or politics.

## No Coloureds

There is one exception. South Africa. There has never been a coloured person in the South African team.

In the Union of South Africa, Whites and Africans, Whites and Indians, Whites and Coloured are not permitted to join together in athletics or sports. The Whites exclude persons with any drop of coloured blood from their clubs.

During this last month we have seen the lengths to which this exclusion goes. Africans and Coloured persons have been refused entrance even as spectators to the Rugby matches between South Africa and New Zealand. The New Zealanders could not bring with them coloured Maoris, who are among their most skilful players.

The non-Whites in the Union have formed their own sports and athletic clubs. They are very strong. Their football association is far larger than the White association.

But, reflecting economic conditions, the non-White clubs are wretchedly poor. Playing fields are often rough grounds. Equipment is often crude. Nevertheless, the non-Whites have produced notable athletes and

be surprising if it were true. Actually, it is not true. I give examples.

Weight-lifting is an African tradition, and in this Africans in the Union excel. There are at least two who have records not reached by any White in South Africa. The first is Precious Mackenzie, a feather-weight. In the three Olympic tests—press, snatch, clean and jerk—he has lifted 680 lbs., which is 10 lbs. more than the White, F. Gaffney, who is representing South Africa at Rome.

The second is middle-weight Johnny Geldut. He has lifted 770 lbs., a record which is also 10 lbs. better than the best White achievement.

The White selectors excuse the exclusion of Mackenzie and Geldut on the ground that they could not possibly win at Rome. Probably not. But the White competitors whom they have chosen have still less chance of winning. It will be interesting to see what weights they achieve at Rome.

In the case of boxing, one cannot judge with certainty whether Africans or Whites are more skilled, for the simple reason that they are not allowed to enter a ring together. But expert observers from Europe say that there are four Africans who are at least as good as the Whites. They are: Isaac Madendo, welter-weight, Caswell Jugula, bantam-weight, Harold Zware, light-weight, and M. Mathiba, fly-weight. Not one of these was even considered for Rome.

## No consideration

Weight-lifting and boxing are the two sports where African standards are probably highest, though with organised observation and record testing, now often lacking, other Olympic standard contestants would probably be found. In sprinting the Africans certainly have one representative who deserves to be at Rome. He is Didibeng Makoena, who has run 100 yards in 9.7 seconds, the Olympic standard time. He has not been considered for Rome.

The failure of the Union of South

mittee will press it to a decision, and I shall not be surprised if they inform the Olympics Committee that in future they will refuse to take part in the Games if South Africa is admitted whilst maintaining discrimination. America, Britain, Russia, Scandinavia and other countries should insist on inter-racial equality. The whole spirit of the Olympics will be destroyed if race discrimination is permitted in any team.

## No affiliation

Two other suggestions I make.

Most sports and athletics have international federations. The African and Asian participants should demand that no national body which practises discrimination should be affiliated. The international table tennis federation has already disaffiliated the White South African association because it excludes non-Whites, and has accepted the affiliation of the association to which Africans, Indians and Coloureds belong because it does not apply a racial test and its membership is open to Whites. In the spirit of true sportsmanship, every international federation should follow the table tennis lead.

My second suggestion is that the sports and athletic associations of all African countries should establish a Continental Federation which should include the non-racial Sports Federation of South Africa of which Mr. Brutus is secretary. This would be a challenge to the Union authorities, who claim that they have no objection to non-White athletes competing abroad.

Could not the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the Pan-African Committee consider these proposals?

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LEITCHWORTH

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cans and coloured persons have been refused entrance even as spectators to the Rugby matches between South Africa and New Zealand. The New Zealanders could not bring with them coloured Maoris, who are among their most skilful players.

The non-Whites in the Union have formed their own sports and athletic clubs. They are very strong. Their football association is far larger than the White association.

But, reflecting economic conditions, the non-White clubs are wretchedly poor. Playing fields are often rough grounds. Equipment is often crude. Nevertheless, the non-Whites have produced notable athletes and sportsmen.

## No standards

The South African Whites are saying that no African, Indian or coloured person has reached a standard which deserves consideration for the Olympic team. I see that even *Drum*, the English-owned African-life paper, is saying the same thing. In view of the absence of training facilities, this would not

weight, and M. Mathiba, fly-weight. Not one of these was even considered for Rome.

## No consideration

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The failure of the Union of South Africa to conform with the Olympic Games principle of no discrimination has (as reported in *Peace News* last week) been drawn to the attention of the Games International Committee by the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport.

It may be that the South African all-White team will be allowed to compete at this Rome meeting, but the issue will not be allowed to rest. The African and Asian members of the Olympics Games Com-

countries should establish a Continental Federation which should include the non-racial Sports Federation of South Africa of which Mr. Brutus is secretary. This would be a challenge to the Union authorities, who claim that they have no objection to non-White athletes competing abroad.

Could not the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the Pan-African Committee consider these proposals?

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## DIARY

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#### Friday, August 26

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Rd. London Local Tribunal for CO's. Public admitted.

#### Saturday, August 27

LONDON, N.6: 6.30 p.m. London Mennonite Centre, 14 Shepherds Hill, Highgate. Dr. J. H. Yoder, "The Churches and Peace." Public Welcome.

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#### SUNDAYS

GLASGOW: 8.15 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd. Open-air meeting.

LONDON, N.W.3: 11.30 a.m. Whitestone Pond. Open Air Meeting. Hampstead CND.

#### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

#### WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

#### THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

#### Sunday, August 28

LONDON, W.1: 4.15 p.m. Air St., Piccadilly. West End Poster Parade. Westminster CND.

#### Monday, August 29

EDINBURGH: 10 a.m.-11 p.m. daily for duration of Festival. CND Centre, Chalmers-Lauriston Church Hall, corner of West Port and Lawson St. Exhibitions, music, discussions, information, literature, coffee morning and evening. Opening concert 8 p.m. CND.

LEEDS: 10.30 a.m. Law Society Institute, 1 Albion Pl., Leeds 1. Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal.

#### Tuesday, August 30

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh Street. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.

#### Thursday, September 1

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Ho., Bushwood, Leytonstone. Tom Brett "Pictures." PPU.

#### Saturday, September 3

GREENHAM COMMON, BERKS.: All day anti-H-Bomb Patrol against US Air Force Base, Motorcade, deputation and March. Intensive campaign in preceding week. Details, Berrow, "Millcrest," Windmill Hill, Alton, Hants. S.E. and London Regions CND.

IPSWICH: March with plough to American Air Base at Bentwaters. Details: Brian Jones, 286 Tud-denham Rd., Ipswich.

#### Wednesday, September 7

ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA: 7.8a Norman Road. 6.45 p.m. A.G.M. 7.15 p.m. Open Meeting. Douglas Clark "Money, Taxes and Bombs." PPU.

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—By Sybil Morrison—

## ENDS AND MEANS

... Still it is no use pretending that some innocent people were not killed. War is lousy.—Captain Donald Macintyre, FIGHTING ADMIRAL, *The Sunday Times*, August 21, 1960.

IT was ten years after the First World War before the memoirs, poems, novels and plays began to flow from the pens of writers, and of military and naval "brass hats." It was only five years after the Second World War that Churchill's *Memoirs* began to be published, and since then the stream of biographies, autobiographies, diaries and memoirs has been almost phenomenal.

Now, twenty years later, Admiral Somerville has permitted Captain Donald Macintyre to write of his war-time career under the title of FIGHTING ADMIRAL, and the readers of *The Sunday Times* have been able to follow some of his adventures.

He had the misfortune, near the beginning of the war, to be selected for the task of sinking the French fleet at Oran. The French were our Allies, and though they had capitulated to the superior German forces, nevertheless, so far as the fighting units of Britain were concerned, they were to be pitied rather than resented. Admiral Somerville's pity nearly wrecked the undertaking.

★

When I was in Holloway in 1940 I met among my fellow prisoners a French woman, married to a Britisher and therefore a British subject. She had lived in this country for more than twenty years and was much attached to it, but when she learned that her nephew had been killed at Oran, where the British Navy had sunk the French Fleet to prevent its capture by Germany, she had, in her local public house, spoken loudly and angrily enough against Britain for some listener to inform against her. She received a sentence of six months for "causing alarm and despondency." I had a number of opportunities of conversation with her, and found that she was quite incapable of understanding why the magistrate should have sent her to

How Michael Woodhouse, 22-year-old conscientious objector, Quaker, and direct action ex-prisoner, has brought an important constitutional issue before the Lord Chief Justice is described here by a Special Correspondent.

## EX-PARTE WOODHOUSE

WITH the flavour of an old-time conundrum, "When is a reason not a reason," a case of some constitutional importance has arisen from the proceedings of the Southern Appellate Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors.

In his application to the Leeds Local Tribunal, Michael Woodhouse had claimed complete exemption from military service and that Tribunal on November 6, 1959, had dismissed his application altogether, giving no reason but noting as a fact that he refused to take any conditional exemption such as forestry or hospital work.

Michael Woodhouse appealed against this decision and came before the Appellate Tribunal on February 29. He stated that he would refuse to do civilian work as a condition of exemption from military ser-



Michael Woodhouse (left nearest camera) at the Finningley (Yorks) H-bomber base on July 30.

vice, for it would be a compromise which it was against his conscience to accept. Towards the end of the hearing he felt that there was little hope of the Tribunal's allowing his appeal, so he asked them to give the reason for their decision.

This request invoked part of the new Tribunals and Inquiries Act which requires the Tribunal to state the reason for their

decision when requested. When announced, the reason for the Appellate Tribunal's upholding the Local Tribunal's complete dismissal was stated to be that "the applicant had not established a conscientious objection to military service."

After consultation with the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors and his solicitor, Denis Hayes, it was decided to apply to the High Court for them to order the Appellate Tribunal to furnish the reasons for their decision, on the ground that the statement so far given was not a reason; it merely stated the decision.

Before the Court would consider whether or not to make an order an application had to be made to the Queen's Bench Division for leave to apply for the order. On June 17 this was heard by the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Parker, with Mr. Justice Hilbery and Mr. Justice Donovan.

### They would never know

In reply to the Lord Chief Justice, Michael Woodhouse's counsel, Mr. Peter Pain, argued that if this formula met with the blessing of the Court, or was not disapproved of by the Court, it could be used in every case, and no conscientious objector would ever be able to know the true reason why his appeal was dismissed. The Lord Chief Justice thought that it would be a pure waste of time to carry this matter any further and dismissed the application.

An appeal was lodged against this decision and the Rt. Hon. Sir Frank Soskice, Q.C., appeared for Michael Woodhouse before Lord Justice Sellers, Lord Justice Pearce and Lord Justice Devlin on June 27.

Sir Frank Soskice argued that a reason involved the process of rationalisation, explaining why the particular decision had been made. In the present case the tribunal might have thought Michael Woodhouse's objection was political, or that an absolutist objection was not an objection coming within the meaning of the National Service Acts.

PEACE NEWS, August 26, 1960—3

### Why not both?

"A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches."—Proverbs, XXII, 1.

Well, we've got the good name; all we want now is the riches. But there's a widespread idea that they don't go together. Here's another example:

"The race is not to the swift . . . nor riches to men of understanding."—Ecclesiastes, IX, 11.

(How well Mr. B. knows the Bible, does he not, Mama?)

Yes, dear, all who know him are impressed by his piety.

But, Mama, did not Papa say the devil can always quote Scripture?

Now, dear, get on with your nice rice pudding.)

If Ecclesiastes is right, it's a bad lookout for PN. But I'm rather suspicious of this idea that wealth and virtue don't mix. Rich men are not necessarily bad. Lots of people are rich through no fault of their own.

Let us therefore examine the authorship of these observations.

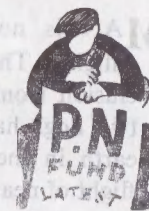
Ecclesiastes is pessimistic stuff, full of all-is-vanity and tomorrow-we-die, varied with morning-after lapses into religion. Rather like Omar Khayyam without the jokes. It was written about 200 BC during a period of national subjection, which would account for its gloom and despondency and the author's dim view of life.

Proverbs is mainly attributed to King Solomon, and just look at him: one of the richest despots that ever exhausted his country's resources by personal extravagance. His concubines alone could have filled an Albert Hall meeting for Women's Suffrage.

But it's a time-honoured custom for rich men to pretend to despise wealth and fortune—after they've made their pile, of course. Some of them develop a conscience in old age and start worrying about their reputations. Then they endow hospitals or write moral proverbs.

But half a minute—I see I've not been fair to Ecclesiastes. It goes on to say, ". . . but time and chance happeneth to them all."

So we've got a chance. As for time, we've another four months to reach our annual target. And this Q.



When I was in prison in 1940 I met among my fellow prisoners a French woman, married to a Britisher and therefore a British subject. She had lived in this country for more than twenty years and was much attached to it, but when she learned that her nephew had been killed at Oran, where the British Navy had sunk the French Fleet to prevent its capture by Germany, she had, in her local public house, spoken loudly and angrily enough against Britain for some listener to inform against her. She received a sentence of six months for "causing alarm and despondency." I had a number of opportunities of conversation with her, and found that she was quite incapable of understanding why the magistrate should have sent her to prison for such a natural reaction against such an "un-natural" act of war. Admiral Somerville would have understood her; British Law condemned her.

In writing of the naval bombardment of the harbour of Genoa in 1941 Somerville insists that most of the salvoes fell upon "works, shipping, docks," but he has to admit that some fell upon "innocent people," as though those working in the docks and among ships were guilty. In fact, they were no more guilty than the helpless civilians who endured the onslaught; the armies and the navies obey the orders of those set in authority over them, and they in turn obey orders from War Office and Admiralty. It is this "authority," whose right to give orders has been accepted for so long, which has at its heart the basic responsibility for the major tragedies of war; but, above even that, is the universal acceptance of war as a method on which nations have the right to rely.

The wrong that is done to "innocent" civilians is no different from the wrong that is done to sailors, soldiers and pilots in the fighting line; it is a basic wrong to use human beings as a means to an end, and this is what war does.

When a murderer is hanged, the sentence is not given with any idea that he could benefit by being hanged, and what he has to suffer is not so much because the Law believes in "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," as because his death may deter others; in fact, the whole conception of the sanctity of human life is violated by taking a life as a means towards deterring others.

It is the same in war; human beings are used as a means towards the end of victory, and are innocent of crime. Though Admiral Somerville thought war to be "lousy" on account of the "slaughter of the innocents" that did not prevent him from waging it. Here is the great gap between the perfectly sensitive human being who is an Admiral and the human being who is a pacifist. The pacifist is faced with a formidable task, the end of which is peace.

### Michael Woodhouse (left nearest camera) at the Finningley (Yorks) H-bomber base on July 30.

vice, for it would be a compromise which it was against his conscience to accept. Towards the end of the hearing he felt that there was little hope of the Tribunal's allowing his appeal, so he asked them to give the reason for their decision.

This request invoked part of the new Tribunals and Inquiries Act which requires the Tribunal to state the reason for their

## 'The Fighting Spirit'

THREE authoritative speakers in the field of education are to lead a London weekend conference on September 24-25 on "Pacifism and the Fighting Spirit":

**Dorothy Matthews, B.A.**, who was the foundation secretary of the English Section of the New Education Fellowship, and will speak on "How to Use the Fighting Spirit," is lecturer and writer on education and co-principal of the Matthews-Surfleet School of Speaking and Writing.

**Dr. Otto Shaw, B.Sc.**, Chairman of a Juvenile Court and headmaster of a school for psychological treatment and education of maladjusted boys. He is also a member of the Kent Education Committee and the Kent Children's Committee. He will discuss the proper use of aggression with unhappy adolescents.

**Margaret Mitchell**, whose subject will be "Towards Pacifism from the Nursery Age," is senior biology lecturer at the Maria Grey Training College for Teachers. Married with two children, she has a wide knowledge of schools of all kinds.

Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, will sum up at the final session.

The conference, which is being organised by the London and South-East Areas of the PPU and will meet in Campbell Hall (University College), Taverton Street, Euston, W.C.1, is to be chaired by Trefor Davies, National Chairman of the PPU.

The fee for the whole conference (bed-room and three meals) is only 12s. 6d. For those not staying overnight the charges are 2s. per day conference fee and 3s. 3d. for high tea and Sunday lunch.

Booking forms may be had from Joe Rowley, 73 South Hill Park, London, N.W.3.

Chief Justice thought that it would be a pure waste of time to carry this matter any further and dismissed the application.

An appeal was lodged against this decision and the Rt. Hon. Sir Frank Soskice, Q.C., appeared for Michael Woodhouse before Lord Justice Sellers, Lord Justice Pearce and Lord Justice Devlin on June 27.

Sir Frank Soskice argued that a reason involved the process of rationalisation, explaining why the particular decision had been made. In the present case the tribunal might have thought Michael Woodhouse's objection was political, or that an absolutist objection was not an objection coming within the meaning of the National Service Acts.

It was impossible for the applicant to know which view the tribunal took, and, therefore, he was unable to challenge the decision if it involved an erroneous view of the law. If the form of wording used by the tribunal was to be a sufficient compliance, the citizen would be deprived of one of the important safeguards which the Tribunals and Inquiries Act had sought to provide.

After hearing the argument, which lasted well over an hour, the Court decided that before coming to a decision they would like to hear the case put from the tribunal's point of view and, because this kind of appeal was so rare, to hear argument as to whether the Court did in fact have jurisdiction to hear the appeal at all, and the whole case was adjourned so that this could be arranged.

The adjourned hearing will not take place until the new Court session in October.

## GUARDING THE LIFE GUARDS

"LET Nuclear Disarmament Be Your Life-guard" was the banner displayed outside the Bingley (Yorks) Agricultural Show recently.

The show, which drew a record crowd of 24,000 people, had for one of its attractions the band of the Life Guards, who were accompanied by a column of armoured cars.

Four new Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament members were enrolled and 10,000 leaflets given out.

"We are following this up with a stall at the Pudsey Show on September 3," Peter Fenbow of Bradford CND told *Peace News*. "We shall tie this in with the 21st anniversary of the commencement of World War II."

On September 10 a contingent of Yorkshire CND is joining the Manchester leg of the Edinburgh-London march.

gance. His concubines alone could have filled an Albert Hall meeting for Women's Suffrage.

But it's a time-honoured custom for rich men to pretend to despise wealth and fortune—after they've made their pile, of course. Some of them develop a conscience in old age and start worrying about their reputations. Then they endow hospitals or write moral proverbs.

But half a minute—I see I've not been fair to Ecclesiastes. It goes on to say, "... but time and chance happeneth to them all."

So we've got a chance. As for time, we've another four months to reach our annual target. And this, O reader of wealth, good name and understanding, is where you come in.

**B. J. BOOTHROYD.**

Contributions since Aug. 12: £71 11s. 9d.  
Total since Feb. 1: £1,028 1s. 2d.  
Still needed: £1,472.

*Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.*

To guide readers who wish to benefit *Peace News* when making their wills, the following form of Legacy is suggested: "... and I give the sum of £..... free of duty to Peace News, Ltd., the principal place of business of which is at 5 Caledonian Road, Islington, London, N.1.

**March with Plough  
from IPSWICH to**



**BENTWATERS  
U.S. AIR BASE**

**to reclaim land for  
peaceful purposes**

(no civil disobedience)

**Saturday, September 17**

Assemble

**Fonnerau Road, Ipswich, 9 a.m.**

or

**Market Place, Woodbridge, 1.30 p.m.**

or

**Bentwaters, 4 p.m.**

(Transport available for return)

**IPSWICH GROUP CND**

## Into space

MAN is now on the very threshold of space flight. This seems to be the only possible conclusion from last Saturday's news from Moscow: two dogs have been brought successfully back to earth in their four-and-a-half-ton capsule after a flight of nearly half a million miles.

There is a widespread popular belief that the great scientific challenge of the opening up of solar exploration might somehow be able to brush aside the problem of the future of man on his own planet. Glowing pictures of possible co-operation in the conquest of space are drawn which unfortunately have little relation to present reality.

Last week's announcement that the US Army's plan to establish bases on the moon had got past the survey stage illustrates the point all too well. And no doubt Khrushchev knows that Russia cannot remain a Great Power without extending its pursuit of military advantage into outer space. Already the giants are developing various reconnaissance satellites which, it is hoped, will continue the work of such cruder and more embarrassing forerunners as the U-2.

## The U-2 trial . . .

THE trial of Francis Powers in Moscow for spying will go down in history as one of the first and last examples of a special brand of "reconnaissance." Just as the technology of weaponry is developing out of all recognition in our times, so is that of spying. It is Powers' misfortune that in ten years' time he would have been redundant. What is much more significant about the trial, however, is the quality of man revealed. This was how James Morris, *The Guardian's* reporter in Moscow, summed up the second day of the hearing:

... the utter impotence of the individual once he is caught up in the machine of power politics—whether it is the Americans who are his masters or the Russians his prosecutors. We are left with a vision of a nice, ordinary, not terribly clever young man hoisted like the White Knight into his aircraft, bundled with equipment he does not understand, a poison pin in one hand, a piece of black cloth in the other, and sent to fly for eight hours across hostile territory sporadically pulling switches whose purpose

# COMMENTARY

by

Christopher Farley

various spokesmen have been absorbed in a welter of counter-accusations: Powers was brain-washed; the sentence was severe; the U-2 wasn't shot down from 68,000 feet, etc., etc. All statements which carefully overlook the first consideration that the flight was wrong—100 per cent wrong.

... always wrong? ...

TO this must be added only one thought. An American who was in Moscow as final preparations were being made for the trial explained to me last week that it was difficult to discuss peace with the Russians because he had to confess everywhere that he too thought the U-2 flight monstrous. Debate thus became mere agreement. The American should have asked a few questions in reply: Is spying always wrong, and if so how can the USSR possibly remain a Great Power without resort to it? This is the heart of the problem. Spying is simply the product of a desire for more efficient militarism.

It is in this context that poor Powers showed up so badly. He just obeyed the orders of his cold war superiors:

"Are you aware that you were violating international law in flying over Soviet territory and across the border?" "Yes, I was aware of this." "Why did you do it?" "I was ordered to do so." "Would you say now, did you do your country a good or an ill service?" "I would say a very ill service." "Did it not occur to you that a flight of this sort might provoke a conflict?" "The people who sent me should think of these things. My job was to carry out the order."

... Powers typical

THE case is all the more pathetic because Powers is so typical in other ways. In evidence he explained that at one time he hesitated about renewing his contract with the Central Intelligence Agency. Asked why, he replied: "I just had a feeling. I don't know what it was. I

we also understand the ultimate power of the cold war and the condition of man.

Meanwhile, it has been Moscow's triumph. There were demonstrations first of restraint (no missile war within 15 minutes of sighting the plane on May 1) then moderation (no cruel execution—in contrast with the Rosenbergs, Chessman, etc.) and finally consolidation (what Russian can now believe that Washington is not what he has always been told?). The State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency continue to do much of Khrushchev's hardest work for him.

## And now 'Fatalism'

A LESS heralded but even more important triumph for Khrushchev has been in the realm of doctrine. For K has turned out—fortunately for the West—to be that rare bird, the zealot who can genuinely change his mind about fundamental dogma. He has rejected the much-repeated Marxist-Leninist concept that Communism will finally defeat capitalism by world war.

Khrushchev started this heresy at the famous Twentieth Party Congress in 1956. At first he had to pretend that war was no longer inevitable because the forces of Socialism were strong enough to prevent it, but lately he has admitted his real reason: nuclear weapons have made war obsolete as an instrument of policy. At Bucharest in June he went even further, saying that local wars must not be tolerated "as these can grow into a world war." Khrushchev's reversal on this is all the more striking because in 1953 he was still contradicting Malenkov, the first Soviet leader to advance the view that nuclear war would mean the end of human society.

Now, however, the new outlook has been consolidated. On July 23 David Floyd, the *Daily Telegraph's* special correspondent on Communist affairs, reported that the current issue of *Kommunist* had published a most noteworthy statement. The editor-in-chief of this, the most authoritative journal of the Soviet Communist Party on matters of policy, wrote clearly condemning as "fatalists" those who continued to believe that war was inevitable. "Fatalism" had become a Marxist crime.

The new doctrine has been unacceptable to nearly all Chinese Communist leaders. Mao Tse-tung is convinced that war between East and West is inevitable before Communism can triumph; and many of his comrades are playing down the results of nuclear war and insisting that China could survive. There is no doubt that this is a large part of the ideological differences between

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All the hideous images of our time stand there indicted with him, from the false god of science to the sham father-figure of the State, and around him there flit an equivocal team of witnesses—Patriotism, Covetousness, Half-Truth, Hypocrisy, Cloak-and-Daggerism.

The Russians, no doubt, intend this trial to be an indictment of America: but now, as the second long day draws on, I realise that we all of us stand accused up there, and in the end we shall all stand convicted.

Reactions in Official Circles in the West, however, indicate little realisation of even the simple appalling stupidity of the flight. Instead the

you do it?" "I was ordered to do so." "Would you say now, did you do your country a good or an ill service?" "I would say a very ill service." "Did it not occur to you that a flight of this sort might provoke a conflict?" "The people who sent me should think of these things. My job was to carry out the order."

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THE case is all the more pathetic because Powers is so typical in other ways. In evidence he explained that at one time he hesitated about renewing his contract with the Central Intelligence Agency. Asked why, he replied: "I just had a feeling, I don't know what it was. I cannot even put it into words, I just did not like what I was doing. There was, I suppose, a great increase in tension in the world and I am sincerely sorry that I have had anything to do with this."

Perhaps most significant was his remark on the weapon he wore when captured: "The pistol was given to me and I took it strictly for hunting. Unfortunately, nobody but myself knows that I could not kill a person—even to save my own life I wouldn't do it." All the best and worst in man was there in Powers, and somehow the worst triumphed. If we understand how this happened

affairs, reported the current issue of *Kommunist* had published a most noteworthy statement. The editor-in-chief of this, the most authoritative journal of the Soviet Communist Party on matters of policy, wrote clearly condemning as "fatalists" those who continued to believe that war was inevitable. "Fatalism" had become a Marxist crime.

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Last Friday, however, Victor Zorza reported in *The Guardian* that the Vice-President of Yugoslavia, Edvard Kardelj, has published the new theory in his book *SOCIALISM AND WAR*. Five days earlier Reuter reported from Moscow that the Soviet Government newspaper *Izvestia* had condemned the "dead dogma" of the Left, as it described the old theory. The change is coming. The absurdity of yesterday is the Fatalism of today.

### Polaris for Bonn?

WEST GERMAN generals last Friday demanded—in a direct appeal to the public—nuclear weapons similar to those of their country's allies.

The campaign was launched with the publication of a pamphlet which has been described as the decisive opinion of the West German general staff. It was signed by Vice-Admiral Ruge, the Inspector of the Navy.

Already the Bundeswehr "has acquired, or has on order, more tactical nuclear weapons than the British or French armies," *The Times'* Bonn correspondent reported last Friday.

It is generally understood that the question of the 1,500-mile-range Polaris missile (which could wipe out Moscow from West Germany) is now involved.

### U.S. picks Army bases on moon

US Government geological experts have completed terrain studies of the moon

## THIS IS YOUR WORLD

for use by the Army in plans to establish bases there.

Army officials have said that such bases "can be established within ten years," a *New York Times* report stated on August 13.

### America's stockpile

ESTIMATES of the size of the American nuclear weapon stockpile have been given in France by M. Bertrand Goldschmidt, a director of the French Atomic Energy Authority.

According to a report by the Defence Correspondent of *The Guardian* on August 15, the Frenchman said that at the beginning of this year the USA had about 500 tons of nuclear explosives which would produce about 20,000 atomic bombs.

The American investment in nuclear

weapons up to that date had been about \$20,000,000,000.

### New-style execution

PETER POOLE, who was hanged in Nairobi on August 18, was the first European in Kenya to be sentenced to death by an all-White jury for murdering an African.

Poole, 29, was executed for shooting dead an African houseboy who, it was stated, had thrown stones at his dog.

The week before last seven men were hanged at the same prison for murdering a European farmer.

### Serious planning

THE US Defence Department announced on August 17—the day the U-2 trial

opened—the formation of a central agency to select targets and specify the weapons to be used against them in case of "an all-out nuclear war."

The object is to gear all US weapons—bombers, inter-continental missiles and Polaris submarine missiles—to fire at previously indicated targets within 15 minutes' warning of an attack.

Defence Secretary Thomas Gates assigned the task of target choosing to General Thomas S. Power, Strategic Air Commander. His choice for nuclear destruction should be ready for approval by December.

Mr. Gates considers his decision "the most important" he has made in his seven years at the Pentagon.



Over 15,000 Akali Sikhs had been arrested by last week-end in the first three months of their agitation for a separate Punjabi-speaking state. Nearly 120 were arrested on Sunday for starting a token march on Prime Minister Nehru's house in Delhi.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Communists and CND

MAY I comment on the two letters (PN Aug. 19) from Mr. Cash and Mr. Bevis?

I still insist that within the peace and pacifist organisations there is a great need for a greater tolerance to be shown towards each other.

Mr. Cash's attack on my integrity—implicit in his final paragraph—is the sort of thing I am against. As a matter of fact, if Mosleyites were prepared to march shoulder to shoulder with me I would not be prepared to discriminate against them.

On the other hand, the situation in relation to the Communist Party has become more complex. There have always been isolated Communists and fellow travellers on our marches, in the same way as there has been the occasional conservative, and to my knowledge at least one member of Mosley's British Union.

I have, and have urged others, to assume and give them credit for opposition to nuclear weapons.

In mid-May, however, the Central Committee of the British Communist Party caused a change to be made in the Party line (resolution on individual action), and the last few weeks have made it quite clear that, in the North at least, a determined attempt is being made by the CP to undermine and take over the CND, blatantly, in many cases, ignoring CND's contribution to anti-war activity.

This information was not available to me when I wrote before (PN July 22). Despite a plea for tolerance in which I axiomatically assumed that one gives credit for bona fides, I have come to the conclusion that a case of mala fides has been made against the leadership of the CP. First by reason of the methods and devices now resorted to, and secondly because the industrial wing of the Party (e.g., the ETU and the Scottish NUM) appear to have thrown their weight against unilateralism.

As all the top marchers take *Peace News* and as this raises a very serious problem I hope you will allow it to be ventilated in your columns; how can one discriminate against organisations which appear to intend to do the common cause harm, whilst not discriminating against the probably large number of their members who are probably very sincere and believe that their presence

good for peace—it will merely match the virtual free trade of the Communists countries extending from Berlin to Peking. It will be fuel for the cold war.

Nothing less than world-wide free trade is desirable if the term is to mean anything, and if this barrier to world peace is to be eliminated.—MICHAEL WOODHOUSE, 3 Brian Avenue, Dalton, Huddersfield, Yorks.

## Books for Nigeria

OUR co-operative elementary school has undertaken during the past year a project of helping a school in East Nigeria: The Community Grammar School, Awo-Omamma, Orlu, via Oguta PO, E. Nigeria, W. Africa.

We have responded to their appeal for books and other material with used texts, maps, pens and anything we could gather from sympathisers, and we have been fairly successful in all but a few categories.

We turn to you for help in one of them. A recent letter from Dr. Ben Nzeribe, Director of the Nigerian school, says:

"Our weakest section is general non-fiction and fiction, story books for about 13 to 16-years-olds, and books and magazines about travel.

"There is an increasing volume of good fiction from the pens of Africans. It seems important that our students come to enjoy literature which is expressive of the African personality and to realise the responsibility of creative outlets for themselves."

It is this last kind of writing that is least available to us in the USA. I understand from book reviews in liberal magazines here that Britain is publishing some good stories and autobiographical history books by and

about Africans, especially Black Africans, that are fully respectful of all Africans—books by Abrahams, Paton, Mphahlele, Bloom, Doris Lessing, Jacobson, Gardiner and others.

So we ask you: Is there any way in which you could help get a collection of such books into the hands of this school?

Could perhaps several people devoted to such a cause gather a number of these books from sympathetic friends, booksellers, publishers, teachers, to send to our friends?

Anything you can do within the pressing limitations of time and energy will be much appreciated.—ISIDORE FRIEDMAN, Peninsula School, Menlo Park, California.

Readers with copies of suitable books are invited to post them by book post to the school. Housmans Bookshop will be willing, where individuals, groups, churches, schools, factories, etc., are willing to donate money for this purpose, to despatch new copies of suitable books post free directly to Nigeria. The people of Awo-Omamma built the school themselves, classroom by classroom, with moulded concrete blocks.—ED.

## The U-2 trial

THE first communication pilot Powers was allowed to send was of special interest. Its main point was the sense of guilt shown towards those he loves most for risking their happiness on his dangerous though non-violent duty.

The first aim of all interrogators is to find a point of guilt and then work to spread this guilt to include the action they disapprove (as, for example, the questions Conscientious Objector tribunals asked in World War I about danger or harm to your mother, sister, etc., from "the enemy").

Clearly Powers' interrogators found and established a strong sense of guilt, and were able to link it with his action.

For a comparable case, it does not appear that the Gestapo was able to plant in the agent who kept London informed of the V1 sites and development a similar sense of guilt towards his family, though they were in the Gestapo's reach and Powers' family is not.

Nobody is entitled to decide on the question of Powers' brainwashing until they have read:

1. *The Times'* reports of the Hall of Columns trial of the 16 Polish leaders June 19-22, 1945.
2. Stypulkowski's INVITATION to Moscow (Thames and Hudson, 1951), pp. 233-339. Stypulkowski was the only defendant who did not plead guilty.

These will, I trust, make it perfectly clear to them that Powers had the standard treatment.

Pressure of time has unfortunately prevented me from following your treatment of poor Powers' case, but I am sure this very striking example of non-violent action answered by Governmental force, and topped by a typical state charade, has passionately engaged you and your readers, and I hope this factual note will be of help in following its obscurer processes.—GEOFFREY STONE, 22 Linden Gardens, London, W.2.

Our reader will need to make his factual note more factual to help us follow the obscurer processes of the Powers case. The U-2 pilot was, as *The Guardian's* man in Moscow pointed out, "a highly-paid cipher of the cold war." We cannot call his mission a "very striking example of non-violence," nor can we—for lack of evidence—share our reader's certainty that Powers received "the standard treatment."—ED.

# Race relations in Britain

**Coloured Immigrants in Britain**, by J. A. G. Griffith and others. An investigation carried out by the Institute of Race Relations, London. Oxford University Press, 25s.

THE Institute of Race Relations in Britain, which is not to be mistaken for its more famous namesake in South Africa, came into being in 1958 "to encourage and facilitate the study of relations between races." It is an off-

shoot of the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, and its work is to happen, particularly when economic conditions are unfavourable.

The third section of the book is virtually a digest of press cuttings, of *Hansard*, and of the pronouncements of churches, trades unions and similar bodies on the

ally assumed that one gives credit for bona fides, I have come to the conclusion that a case of mala fides has been made against the leadership of the CP. First by reason of the methods and devices now resorted to, and secondly because the industrial wing of the Party (e.g., the ETU and the Scottish NUM) appear to have thrown their weight against unilateralism.

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**Y**OUR correspondent Samuel Cash (PN August 19) has entirely the wrong approach to membership of CND. Many members may argue that this is a political issue, but it does not relate to party politics, since CND does not commit itself to any one political party. Hence, it is unreasonable to assume that any person should be excluded from membership because he is either a Fascist or a Communist. The purpose of the organisation is to bring people of all beliefs together in a common cause, that of unilateral disarmament, and this includes both Communists and Fascists.

It is, of course, very unlikely that a Fascist should wish to become a member, but the number of Communist members is more than a tiny percentage. The important point to remember is that everyone who supports unilateral disarmament should join CND, regardless of political affiliations.—**KRISTINA QUINN, 75 Rosedale Rd., Stoneleigh, Surrey.**

## Six and Seven

**W**ORKERS for peace are rightly concerned with the economic effects of disarmament. What about the disarmament effects of economics?

Eric Baker in his Commentary (PN Aug. 19) seems optimistic about the future of the European Free Trade associations. This is not radical enough for *Peace News*. Trade barriers are one of the principal causes of international tensions and have been throughout history, but the formation of new trade blocs perpetuates the problem.

If all Europe gets free trade it will not be

available to us in the USA. I understand from book reviews in liberal magazines here that Britain is publishing some good stories and autobiographical history books by and

disappearing (as, for example, the questions Conscientious Objector tribunals asked in World War I about danger or harm to your mother, sister, etc., from "the enemy").

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So far its activities and publications have tended to exhibit the slightly patronising air that one associates with former overseas civil servants or British Council officials. It is typical that at its Annual General Meeting earlier this year there was not a single Coloured person present!

The Institute of Race Relations has decided to emulate the Institute of International Affairs by incorporating into its Memorandum and Articles of Incorporation a clause precluding it from "expressing an opinion on any aspect of the relations between races." There are no doubt sound legal reasons for this strange prohibition, although such neutrality in its corporate capacity does not preclude its individual members, officers or authors from expressing personal opinions on matters of policy. Those expressed in the present volume may be described as "sound liberal" and certainly not calculated to shock the wealthy patrons who have made possible the Institute and this particular study under its auspices.

This is a useful book for anyone who is not already familiar with the growing literature on racial relations in Britain. It begins with a summary of the existing statistical information concerning the number of Coloured people in Britain, the rate of immigration in recent years, and the size and distribution of Coloured communities throughout the country. Inevitably, the majority of figures are estimates subject to a wide margin of error; but short of instituting "pass laws" merely to satisfy the

curiosity of academic sociologists and others there is not much that can be done to improve upon them.

The majority of immigrants are concentrated in London and the Midlands; they probably number in the region of a quarter of a million and the largest single group are the West Indians, over 100,000 of whom arrived between 1953 and 1958. More than half of the recent arrivals are women and children.

★  
The report goes on to review the existing academic literature on racial relations in Britain. There have been studies of most of the old seaport settlements which preceded the more recent Coloured communities in industrial cities, together with studies of immigrant adjustment and of the attitudes of people in Britain towards Coloured people.

The majority of investigators appear to agree that attitudes towards Coloured immigrants are fluid and ambivalent. So long as there is plenty of work about and not too much competition for housing the newcomers are accepted with a certain amused tolerance. The only conditions are that they "keep themselves to themselves" and do not want to marry English girls or actually live next door. But if these conditions are not met, or there is a threat of unemployment, relationships are liable to deteriorate as the disturbances in 1958 showed.

In fact, Nottingham and Notting Hill are not by any means typical of relations between Coloured and White in Britain, but they are a warning of what can easily

sion "a very striking example of non-violence," nor can we—for lack of evidence—share our reader's certainty that Powers received "the standard treatment."—ED.

happen, particularly when economic conditions are unfavourable.

The third section of the book is virtually a digest of press cuttings, of *Hansard*, and of the pronouncements of churches, trades unions and similar bodies on the colour problem in Britain. They reveal the sensitivity of most official bodies on this subject, the anxiety to maintain a liberal front, but the singular reluctance to take any positive action.

Not nearly enough attention is paid to the increasing volume of literature being put out by neo-fascist organisations. These are determined to exploit the latent anxieties and prejudices of those who are ready to see the Coloured immigrants (who are still less than a half of one per cent of the population) as a monstrous threat. It is not that such propaganda is typical, but that at times of social and economic stress it has an influence out of proportion to the size of the lunatic fringe that actively spreads it.

The book ends with a review of the legal aspects of alien and Commonwealth immigration and with an altogether irrelevant chapter on racial relations in the United States. In the latter there is no systematic attempt to examine the significant similarities and differences between the two countries.

The main policy conclusion put forward in the book is that there should be anti-discriminatory legislation and a "fair employment" code on American lines, a view which others have also put forward, but which still requires more thorough comparative study from a sociological and a legal point of view. We cannot be certain that such procedures would work in Britain. The experience of Coloured immigrants who have endeavoured to gain protection against discrimination through the machinery of Rent Tribunals suggests that the sanctions likely to be at the disposal of any official body may not be strong enough to be effective.

R. A.

## The Gospel and foreign policy

**GEOFFREY CARNALL reviews**

**Christian Ethics and the Dilemmas of Foreign Policy**, by Kenneth W. Thompson. Duke University Press, North Carolina, \$3.50; Cambridge University Press, 28s.

**KENNETH THOMPSON** holds the view, often associated with Reinhold Niebuhr, that the Gospel has little direct guidance to offer on foreign policy. "Most Christian experts in international relations," he says, "tend to reserve for religion a very modest place in guiding the conduct of states."

The trouble with Mr. Thompson from the Christian point of view is that he doesn't seem greatly upset at the way we fail to live up to the Sermon on the Mount. It is usual on these occasions to speak of the tension between the Gospel and sinful man. Mr. Thompson certainly quotes Paul about the law in his members warring against the law of his mind. But the sense of warring, of tension, is almost completely absent from this book.

The author says he holds "the tragic view of life"—human history seen as "a succession of Shakespearean dramas." One feels that he views it all from the Orchestra Stalls.

★

Quite a lot of what he says is sensible, in a quiet, secular way. He admires Schweitzer, Kennan, Hammarskjöld. Also Winston Churchill, which some of us will think odd. ("From humanitarianism, pacifism, and even an indifference to values," says Mr. Thompson solemnly, "Mr. Churchill arrived at the national interest as the shrine in which many of the spirits of political morality reside.")

He thinks that Christians should contribute to a greater sense of human dignity and solidarity, to a willingness to accept the complexities of foreign



*Jim Peck's Letter from America compares the U.S. presidential nominees*

## I GUESS I'LL HAVE TO STAY AT HOME

**I**N attempting to convey to *Peace News* readers the feel of the US political scene, I wrote in this column two years ago: "The political system consists of two big parties with almost identical stands on all major issues."

Never before the 1960 presidential campaign has this been truer. Not only are the platforms drafted at last month's Democratic and Republican national conventions virtually carbon copies on all major issues, but the two individuals submitted to the American electorate as a presidential "choice" are ludicrously identical.

If the Russians should choose to write in their characteristically heavy-handed style a satire on our "democratic" presidential elections under the two-party system they would not need to fictionalise. Even the most ingenious Soviet writer would find it difficult to create two imaginary characters better suited for the leading roles than John F. Kennedy and Richard E. Nixon.

Both are young, clean-cut personifications of the stereotype American success story. Both are ardent adherents to a single principle: personal ambition. On behalf of that principle, both have consistent records of opportunism—indiscriminately shifting position, or simply avoiding taking any position, on major issues in accordance with expediency.

### Ballot-splitting

In his acceptance speech, Kennedy said about Nixon: "We know that it will not be easy to campaign against a man who has spoken or voted on every known side of every known issue." Nixon, aptly, could well apply these identical words to Kennedy.

For example, in four key votes on the 1957 civil rights law, the first to be enacted in 87 years, Kennedy split his ballots—two for Northern advocates of a strong law and two for their Southern opponents. While he has upheld the Supreme Court's key 1954 civil rights decision as "the law of the

land," he has refused to commit himself on specific implementation for enforcing it.

He has courted and received support from both Southern segregationists and Northern anti-segregationists. He has elicited enthusiastic praise on the one hand from Governor John Patterson, of Alabama, a leading Southern ultra-segregationist, and on the other hand from Walter Reuther, a top union leader and nationally-known liberal.

However, when on January 2 Kennedy officially announced his candidacy and programme, civil rights was not included in his "seven vital issues." When the American Veterans' Committee, a liberal veterans' organisation, sent a questionnaire on civil rights to all members of the Senate, Kennedy was one of the few who failed to respond.

### Fence-sitting

In examining his record, this type of fence-sitting emerges as a characteristic trait. On the very important issue of McCarthyism, all efforts to put him on record—even during Senator McCarthy's heyday—have proved unavailing. He was ill and hence absent during the 1954 Senate vote to censure McCarthy in which all senators had an opportunity to stand up and be counted. Questioned subsequently and in later years on how he would have voted had he been present, he has remained evasive.

When last year the labour bill which he drafted was amended by two other senators into an anti-union measure (ultimately enacted as the Landrum-Griffin Law), Kennedy simply refused to commit himself on whether he favoured the legislation in its revised, anti-union form—or not.

Regarding Nixon, his role as co-leader of McCarthyism, when the late Wisconsin senator seemed on the upgrade, has been exposed. So has his welcome acceptance, following election to Congress, of a special slush-fund raised by Californian businessmen to realise fulfilment of his ambitions. These blots were subsequently wiped out,

## Commerce with tears

By JACK SHEPHERD

**I**T is probably true that each generation and society gets the culture it deserves; but is it fair to blame a particular generation for that part of its culture which is thrust upon it? Thrusting has never been quite so vigorous as it is today. It will be a nice problem for future social historians to sort out the things we chose from the things forced upon us. At what point does evolution become perversion?

Before we, the people of 1960, entirely lose our capacity for single-thought, let us try an experiment. Let us stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood, and force ourselves to stare into the mirror held up to our society by the TV commercials.

Quality of conversation makes an interesting study. We talk with a simplicity which is for ever verging upon banality; though in some fields of endeavour the level descends to the moronic. Perhaps somebody will explain why, as soon as we get anywhere near a packet of washing powder or detergent, our thought-

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He thinks that Christians should contribute to a greater sense of human dignity and solidarity, to a willingness to accept with patience the complexities of foreign affairs, to a greater humility in the American national outlook.

Many of the specific judgments on international affairs strike me as based on inadequate evidence, but it isn't worth going into detail. Mr. Thompson holds typical liberal American views.

★

Fair enough. What is disappointing is his failure to examine the relation between such views and the foolishness of the Gospel. Indeed, one's eyebrow rises at Mr. Thompson's apparent lack of interest in the basic texts of Christianity. The Devil can quote scripture for his own wicked purposes, but it doesn't follow that the Saints can afford to neglect it.

Now, there are hardly more than half a dozen citations of the Bible in the whole book: a passing reference to "Thou shalt not steal"; a brief mention of two parables—the Prodigal Son and the Pharisee and the Publican; a cursory rejection of turning the other cheek. It is true that he does once use Peter's stirring words, "We must obey God rather than men."

But only Paul has the honour of extensive quotation, and then the printer drops a line, making the Apostle utter extraordinary doctrine: "For the good that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me." (Cp. Romans 7, 19-20.)

The fact that Mr. Thompson let this pass in an otherwise well printed book suggests that his attention is easily distracted when he reads his Bible.

*GEOFFREY CARNALL, 33, has been Lecturer in English at the Queen's University of Belfast since 1952. In October he takes up a new appointment as a Lecturer in English Literature at Edinburgh University. From 1948-50 he did Quaker work in India and Pakistan.*

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Before we, the people of 1960, entirely lose our capacity for single-thought, let us try an experiment. Let us stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood, and force ourselves to stare into the mirror held up to our society by the TV commercials. Imagine, if you are strong enough, a collected edition of all the British TV commercials. A stern review of them would, I submit, lead to the following logical conclusions.

### OUR PROSPERITY

We are a nation of bright, alert, enthusiastic people, for ever laughingly adding to our prosperity. We have huge appetites, and spend much of our time sitting around meal tables, always with one or two engaging children present, all mouths visibly watering. Our table arrangements always include packages of foodstuffs, prominently marked. Our engaging children are well-behaved and coyly charming. To judge from the satisfaction wrought by meals, food and drink have some kind of sacramental significance.

Only very rarely do family tensions occur, and these are immediately resolved by some further sacramental drink or tablet, obtainable at a price. Physical maladjustment occasionally threatens other aspects of our idyllic condition, but these, too, are quickly remediable on payment. Suffering is not absent from our state, but it serves a purpose; that of adding to the prosperity of those who handle it.

We are a religious people. The adornment of the person has much mystical significance. Young priestesses, uniformly presentable, take baths to the accompaniment of a liturgy of music and words. Both the music, and the chanted words, suggest a contemplative condition little short of ecstatic. Under the influence of this faith, people behave in extraordinary ways. Women make simple but admiring statements about the beauty of other women; men gasp and goggle and drop everything. Conduct unknown under less inspired circumstances.

Quality of conversation makes an interesting study. We talk with a simplicity which is for ever verging upon banality; though in some fields of endeavour the level descends to the moronic. Perhaps somebody will explain why, as soon as we get anywhere near a packet of washing powder or detergent, our thought-patterns become practically imbecile.

Persons known as "specialists," who wear white coats, occupy an apostolic status in our religious life. Others, influential in the hierarchy, dress formally and sit behind desks, and from time to time hold up sacred objects in ritual fashion. But the laity is not excluded from the ministry. Any one of us can turn, at the drop of a hat, and read a little lecture to anyone else. Such overtures are always received with gratitude.

We spend much of our time being active, out-of-doors. And while out of doors, whether on sea or land, we smoke. On the whole we are not a logical people, and we have no sense of humour.

Logic and humour are manifest only in animals and in animated cartoons.

### OUR CULTURE

This is the culture offered to us, thrust upon us, and by which we may well be judged. It is not so much that the content is sinister, as that it is badly done. Even more disquieting is the suspicion that it is badly done deliberately. Can it be that, despairing of immoderate results by appeal to intelligence, the strategy is that of crude blows, staggering in their badness, designed to daze and blunt the mind, rather as a person is said to be brain-washed politically?

One TV critic has remarked that at least there is no violence in the commercials. You may watch them, safe in the knowledge that nobody will be beaten up or killed. True. The constant bombardment of untruth is aimed, not at a screen villain, but at the audience.

What is the slaughter of a few innocents to a big-time operator like King Herod?

Questioned subsequently and in later years on how he would have voted had he been present, he has remained evasive.

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Regarding Nixon, his role as co-leader of McCarthyism, when the late Wisconsin senator seemed on the upgrade, has been exposed. So has his welcome acceptance, following election to Congress, of a special slush-fund raised by Californian businessmen to realise fulfilment of his ambitions. These blots were subsequently wiped out, starting with a super-corny, folksy TV programme in which Nixon appeared with members of his family—and his dog—and continuing with a years-long Madison Avenue campaign to create a public image of "the new Nixon," a scrupulously fair-minded middle-of-the-roader.

### Winds shifting

But as the *New York Post* aptly pointed out in a recent editorial:

"The most devastating case against Nixon is not what he did so long ago, but that he still seems dreadfully devoid of any fighting beliefs, prepared to reverse himself on almost any great question if the political winds shift, incapable of imparting any sense of nobility or depth to the fashion in which he momentarily embraces any cause."

In the 1960 presidential election, we Americans don't even have a lesser-of-two-evils choice such as we have enjoyed in past presidential elections despite the tweedledum-tweedledeeness of our two-party system. In fact, we can't even cast a protest vote for Norman Thomas, as many liberal-minded Americans have over recent decades, because the Socialist Party is not running a candidate.

My own feeling is that there should be some sort of protest demonstration by liberal-minded voters. But these, for the most part, are flocking to the Kennedy bandwagon despite their misgivings about the man, their preference for Adlai Stevenson and their contempt for Kennedy's opportunistic, Southern running mate, Lyndon Johnson.

So it appears that all I can do this Election Day is remain home along with the lazy, the apathetic, and the minute minority of anarchists.

# Direct action team faces violence

## ATTACKS ON PACIFIST HQ AT U.S. DOCKYARD TOWN

*America's missile-firing submarines are being built at New London, Connecticut. Into the town has moved a Committee for Non-violent Action team with headquarters at 13 North Bank Street. Picketing, canvassing and dockyard vigils started to break down public apathy. Then the incidents began. . .*

ON July 15, after three of the CNVA workers had gone to bed, two men were heard muttering in the street. Presently a crash was heard as the plate glass door was kicked in.

Three days later the HQ was visited by three young men who were alternately friendly and threatening. One was evidently their leader. After verbal provocations one of them splashed some water on one of the CNVA men, threw a light bulb against the wall and left.

After the office closed at 11 p.m. two of them returned and climbed through a window. They made various advances to two local girls working as volunteers and then left, taking an electric shaver with them. They returned the following day in various combinations at various times, but apparently without their leader would take no action.

On July 19 the leader and two of his men dropped in. Other members of the gang, known as the Viking Club, came in and out, and after exploding firecrackers, pelting the team with eggs, a pie and squash they left, returning later to hurl stones through the window.

Another incident occurred on August 1 and is described here by Julius Jacobs, a CNVA team worker :

Three young men in civilian dress but subsequently describing themselves as sailors walked in. Adriaan Maas, who had just arrived from New Jersey to join the project for a few days, and I engaged them in conversation.

They asked the usual questions about our project and I gave them some brochures describing it. Just as I finished doing this the 'phone rang and I left Adriaan alone with them.

Adriaan began a serious conversation with one man while the other two listened. One leaned up against the bulletin board. At this moment the youngest of the three, the one who was leaning up against the board, surreptitiously began upsetting the articles on it. Adriaan asked him to be careful, but some of the papers began to fall to the floor.

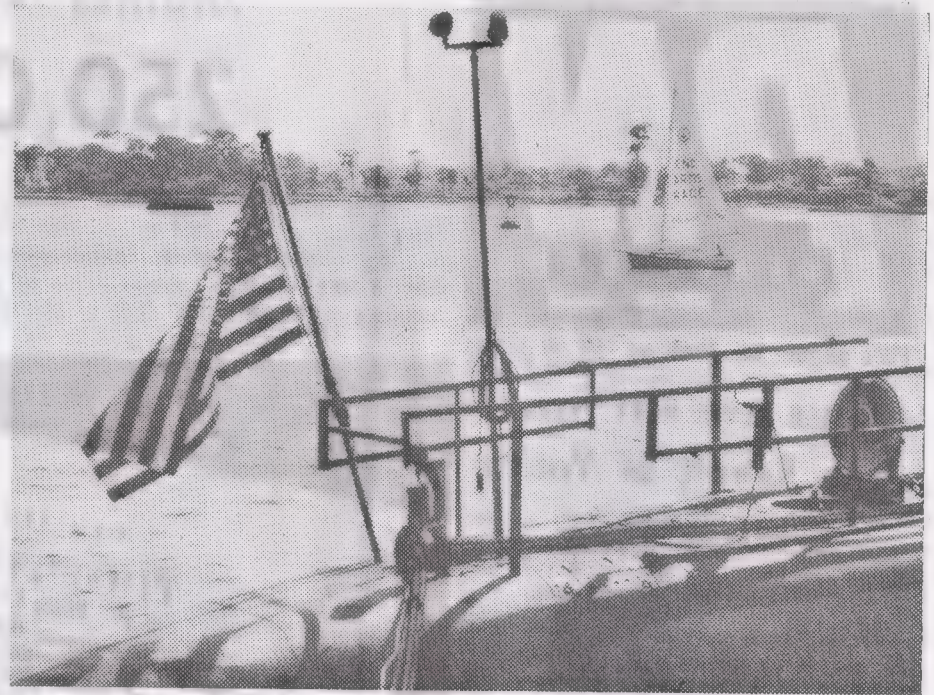
### Appeal to reason

Adriaan asked him to stop and the boy answered "What will you do if I don't?" Adriaan answered that he would do nothing except appeal to his sense of reason. With that, the young man tore down the board.

He then began to ask questions about some of the principles of non-violence such as "What would you do if somebody hit you?" Adriaan answered he would ask the person why he was doing it and try to appeal to his reason.

The young man asked Adriaan if he would hit back. Adriaan said no. He then pushed Adriaan into a corner and socked him in the face. Adriaan stood his ground and tried to speak to him. Two more blows hit Adriaan, one in the face. Adriaan still stood his ground.

At this moment the man's buddies felt awkward and embarrassed and asked



The jib-rigged sloop Satyagraha, manned by Polaris Action demonstrators, seen from the first nuclear submarine Nautilus.

Photo courtesy Portsmouth Herald.

jostled from the head by the action, lay in the street.

I went out and picked up the hat. It seemed to have some identification number printed on the sweatband. Another sailor was standing up the street watching what I would do. Walking up to him, I gave him the hat, asking him to return it to the gentleman who had lost it. He thanked me courteously and left.

Since the door seemed to have a short life I fastened the panel loosely. While I was doing this a police car drove up and an officer asked what had happened. On being informed, he said he'd be back and drove away. I turned out the light and went to bed. Ten minutes later footsteps and voices again, another argument, and once more the panel flew inwards. I went to the door and looked out. The street was deserted.

This time I was in no hurry to repair the door and went into the street. Soon three men appeared around the corner building. One was a sailor who looked exactly like the man who had smashed in the door the second time. The second wore a black sports shirt and tight

Polaris Action is attempting, among other things, to convince Americans that non-violent resistance is a practical as well as a moral means for coping with aggressive totalitarianism. We advocate that the United States, the West, disarm even if other nations do not, and prepare for non-violent resistance against possible invasion.

If a totalitarian Power occupied the United States and was opposed by non-violent resistance, it is possible the Power would try to crush the spirit of the American people. Perhaps occupying authorities would seek to bribe criminal elements in American society to implement its oppressive policies.

### Outlawed elements

The Nazis did this in France and other occupied nations. Professional murderers and other outlawed elements of Continental society were given positions of power in the Gestapo and similar organisations and were directed to crush the resistance movements.

Therefore, in any program of resistance

gang, known as the Viking Club, came in and out, and after exploding firecrackers, pelting the team with eggs, a pie and squash they left, returning later to hurl stones through the window.

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At this moment the man's buddies felt awkward and embarrassed and asked their friend to stop and leave. The attacker then halfheartedly extended his hand out toward Adriaan's and when Adriaan good-naturedly reciprocated he was hit in the face again. The three then walked out. Adriaan did not appear seriously hurt and I did everything I could to give him aid.

After a while we heard a group of people milling around outside. Our only glass window began to shake and heavy objects were thrown against our door. We found out later that they were garbage cans.

### Voices outside

The next incident was on August 9 at midnight. CNVA Secretary Bradford Lytle was half asleep in the office when he heard voices outside the front door. Several men were arguing; two seemed to be trying to dissuade a third from doing something.

This is his description of what followed:

Suddenly, there was a crash. The plywood panel in the door exploded inward. Wide awake, I got up and waited for the next development, half expecting a crowd of men to rush through the door. But nothing further happened. On looking out, I found the street deserted. I picked up the panel, piece of moulding, and screws that lay scattered about and began to repair the door.

While I was fitting the panel in place I heard footsteps approaching. They stopped outside the door. "Let's do it again" someone said. A heavy weight struck the panel. I was forced back and a young sailor was carried halfway through the doorway by the force of his lunge. He was startled on seeing me, wheeled around, ran up the street and vanished around a corner. His hat,

life I fastened the panel loosely. While I was doing this a police car drove up and an officer asked what had happened. On being informed, he said he'd be back and drove away. I turned out the light and went to bed. Ten minutes later footsteps and voices again, another argument, and once more the panel flew inwards. I went to the door and looked out. The street was deserted.

This time I was in no hurry to repair the door and went into the street. Soon three men appeared around the corner building. One was a sailor who looked exactly like the man who had smashed in the door the second time. The second wore a black sports shirt and tight trousers.

### Drunken laugh

"S-a-y," drawled the sailor, "hear you fellows have been having trouble? Just call on me. I'll protect you." He laughed drunkenly.

"Come on, let's get out of here," the man with the black shirt said, pulling the sailor's arm. They departed. A policeman came by and said he thought since the bus (for the Sub Base) had gone we would have no more trouble that night.

There were further violent attacks on the HQ door two nights later. The attacks on our door, says the Committee's bulletin, have all been by men dressed in sailors' uniform. Violent behaviour like this towards Polaris Action on the part of Navy personnel has been the exception rather than the rule.

Many sailors have visited our offices in afternoons and evenings. Most have been genuinely curious about our programme. They have asked intelligent questions and perused our literature. They have been courteous, even friendly.

We have found many of them capable of defending the military approach to national security ably, and we are puzzled by the door-breaking incidents. Certainly, violence of this kind presents no effective argument for Polaris submarines.

Bradford Lytle has explained why the Polaris Action team does not call the police during attacks and does not later seek police protection. He writes:

A number of reasons sustain this policy of the project. I believe the most cogent has nothing to do with the philosophic question of anarchism versus the acceptance of law.

violent resistance, it is possible the Power would try to crush the spirit of the American people. Perhaps occupying authorities would seek to bribe criminal elements in American society to implement its oppressive policies.

### Outlawed elements

The Nazis did this in France and other occupied nations. Professional murderers and other outlawed elements of Continental society were given positions of power in the Gestapo and similar organisations and were directed to crush the resistance movements.

Therefore, in any programme of cultural defence by non-violent resistance, the main struggle may be with quislings, bribed, criminal elements of one's own society, rather than with foreign troops.

The non-violent resisters would have no police to protect them. They would be compelled to fight only with psychological and spiritual weapons.

If this is true, would it not seriously weaken our arguments for non-violence if we sought police protection in New London? To convince people of the truth of non-violence we should be willing to meet again and again violent onslaughts from hoodlum elements.

Polaris Action is scheduled to end next Wednesday, August 31, though the Peacemakers group—in conjunction with the project—is running a 16-day training session in non-violence ending on September 4.

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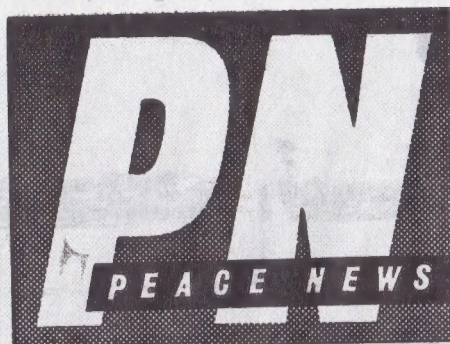
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IN PEACE NEWS NEXT WEEK

## The Revolt of Youth

"IF I COULD AFFORD it I'd pay for 50,000 free distribution. I'm like the newspaper girl in the article 'shaken to the shoes.' It's brought the sun out.

"It will have its setbacks. It will come up against organisational wet blankets and some of its enthusiasm will temporarily flop. The impatient will back out, and the older politicians and pacifists and Leftists will try to canalise it into Right Lines and devitalise it into good behaviour and 'practical politics.' Others will say it's unconnected with any basic ideology and will fizzle out. And sometimes they'll look like being right. But it can't be stopped from rushing into a vacuum and it will break out again. In other words it's terrific."

That is what B. J. Boothroyd wrote to us after reading

## THE REVOLT OF YOUTH

which is to appear in Peace News next week. The article by Kenneth Rexroth is slightly abridged from the original which appeared in the USA in The Nation.

Next week's Peace News, published on the eve of the Edinburgh-London march, must be put into the hands of every school-leaver, every fresher, everyone whose idealism is in sympathy with

## THE REVOLT OF YOUTH

Send in your orders now.

Please send me ..... doz. Peace News for Sept. 2 at 5s. per doz., sale or return.

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ANOTHER TRIUMPH FOR NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION

# 250,000 END BAKERY

Non-violent direct action, used successfully by Negroes in the Deep South of the USA to end race discrimination at lunch counters, has this month achieved a major triumph north of the Mason-Dixon line, where refusal of many firms to give equal job opportunities to Negroes is the principal type of discrimination.

# RACE BAR

FOUR HUNDRED American Negro preachers of Philadelphia announced from their pulpits on August 8 that they were calling a halt to a gigantic "Selective Patronage Programme" against the huge multi-million dollar Tasty Baking Company of Philadelphia, which has acceded and agreed to all the minimum requests for equal job opportunities for Negroes made by the ministers nearly two months ago.

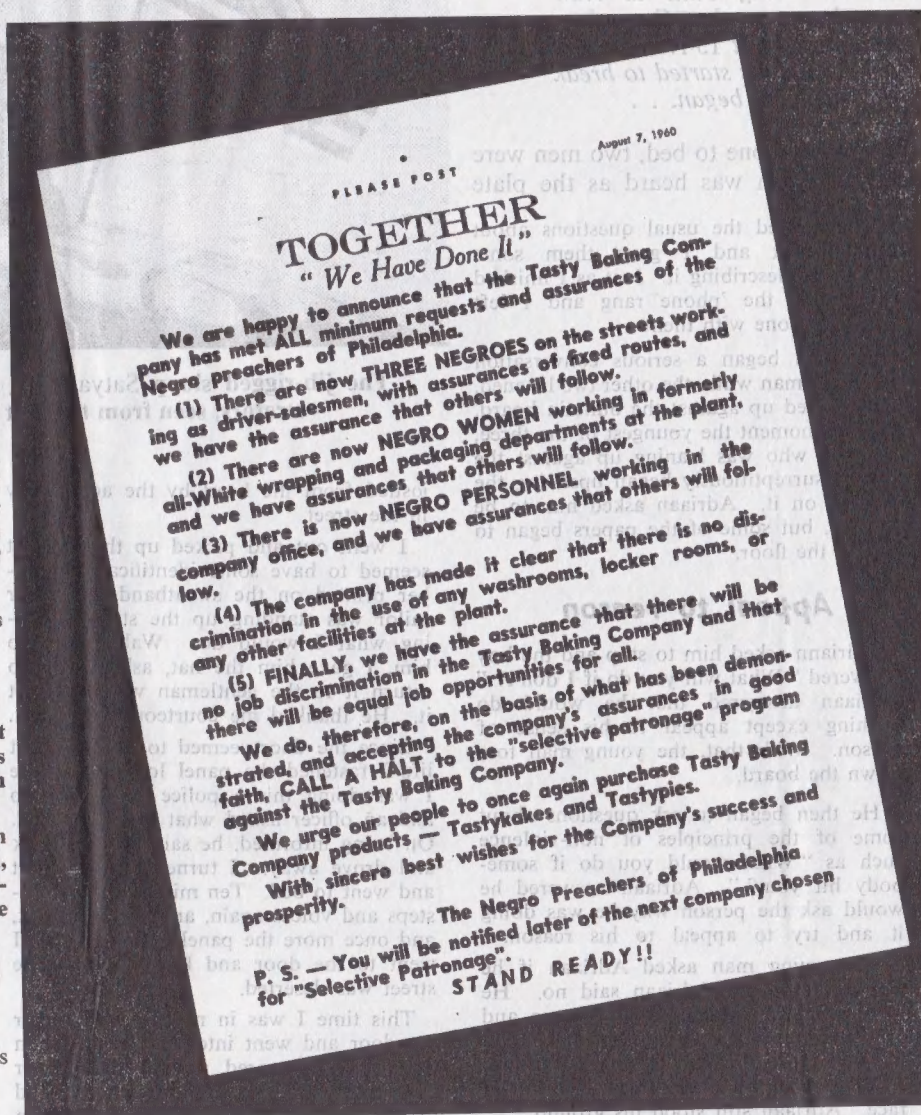
This campaign, launched on May 29, was one of the most effective ever waged in the Eastern part of the United States to eliminate job discrimination against Negroes. There was participation by all segments of the Negro community in the Philadelphia area, clergy, business, fraternal, civic and youth. It is conservatively estimated that at the beginning of August some 250,000 people were participating in the campaign.

As a result the Tasty Baking Company has for the first time employed Negro driver-salesmen, with assurances of fixed routes; Negro women are now working in formerly all White wrapping and packaging departments of the plant; for the first time Negro personnel is employed in the offices; the company has made it clear that there is no discrimination in the use of any washrooms, locker rooms, or any other facilities in the plant; and assurances have been made to the ministers that there will be no job discrimination and equal opportunities for all.

The Negro ministers have accepted in good faith the company's assurances and now extend their sincere best wishes for the company's success, urging parishioners and others to resume purchasing Tasty Baking Company products.

## Unique feature

One of the most unique features of the "Selective Patronage Programme" was the lack of a formal organisation or a designated chairman. A Co-ordinating Com-



VICTORY—WITHOUT BITTERNESS

week. The article by Kenneth Rexroth is slightly abridged from the original which appeared in the USA in The Nation.

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## THE REVOLT OF YOUTH

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# WAR RESISTERS IN CONFERENCE

THE week-long conference of the Peace Pledge Union and War Resisters' International continued last week at Swansea, S. Wales, with a paper from Peace News Commentary writer Roy Sherwood, who traced the development of the motives for war from the physical hunger of tribal groups to the complex struggle for power in modern society.

He recommended a disarmed neutrality for Britain, recognition of China and reform of UNO, and greater cultural exchanges. A panel of speakers answered questions after the address.

## Non-Violent direct action

At the following PPU session Frank Dawtry, secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers, examined the causes for violent crime. In discussing new forms of treatment he cited experiments in Scandinavia based on rehabilitation and training rather than punishment, which had been remarkably successful.

On Wednesday evening there was a "free for all" which was dominated by an open and forthright debate on the significance and development of non-violent direct action. Some argued that the traditional pacifist organisations had been rendered less significant through having lost the initiative in this field to the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War. Others insisted that the Committee's rocket base demonstrations were coercive, whilst one person felt that to support a limited

campaign, albeit through non-violent direct action, was to go "in the wrong direction."

At the final PPU session on Friday Dr. Thouless, a reader in Educational Psychology at Cambridge University and author of STRAIGHT AND CROOKED THINKING, stressed that on a personal level most diplomats and statesmen, who held tremendous power, were incapable of developing conciliatory discussions. Training in the techniques of objectivity might well be given them.

At the Tuesday WRI session a detailed description was given of the Communauté de l'Arche and the Action Civique Non-violente, organisers of the recent non-violent action over Algerian internees.

Bob Luitweiler gave a summary of non-violent actions and education in the USA.

Heinz Friedrich reported from Germany that their struggle centred on refusal of military service. The two German WRI

## Weekend school in non-violence

NARAYAN DESAI, son of Gandhi's secretary, long-time basic education teacher and Bhoodan worker, will lead discussion on various aspects of the Gandhian movement in India: community education, "land gift" on September 3-4 at Garthnewydd Community in Wales.

Details of times and accommodation may be had from Garthnewydd Community, Brecon Rd., Merthyr Tydfil, Glamorgan.

strated, and accepted, CALL A HALT to the faith, against the Tasty Baking Company. We urge our people to once again purchase Tasty Baking Company products — Tastykakes and Tastyties. With sincere best wishes for the Company's success and prosperity. The Negro Preachers of Philadelphia P. S. — You will be notified later of the next company chosen for "Selective Patronage". STAND READY!!

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## PEACE NEWS REPORTERS

sections, the International der Kriegsdienstgegner and the Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer had been able to help French COs as well as German.

Other reports came from Hans Jong (Holland), Hem Day (Belgium), Barbara Ditchburn (Eire), and Ian Dixon (Britain).

On Wednesday Hem Day roundly condemned the role of the State which was a factor for war. The following day Arthur Uloth discussed community living. People living in close proximity experienced many difficulties in personal relationships. These should be anticipated as much as possible but legal safeguards would be contrary to the spirit of a truly libertarian community.

## Support for Foulness prisoners

In the final session Ian Dixon, speaking on "Techniques of Peacemaking," gave a survey of non-violent action in the West, stressing the importance of reaching people on a personal level before taking to direct action. One of the reasons for the rapid spread of the sit-in movement in the USA was the pioneering work done by the Congress of Racial Equality. The value and significance of small-scale actions, he concluded, could not always be measured by immediate results.

He ended with a brief history of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and its campaigns, pointing out its significance as a break with the general apathy of post-war politics.

Well-wishers from the meeting sent telegrams of support to the Foulness prisoners.

in the plant; and assurances have been made to the ministers that there will be no job discrimination and equal opportunities for all.

The Negro ministers have accepted in good faith the company's assurances and now extend their sincere best wishes for the company's success, urging parishioners and others to resume purchasing Tasty Baking Company products.

## Unique feature

One of the most unique features of the "Selective Patronage Programme" was the lack of a formal organisation or a designated chairman. A Co-ordinating Committee representative of all denominations among Negroes in the city met frequently to determine priorities, formulate strategies and general policies. In every instance the decisions of the Co-ordinating Committee were unanimous. Each individual minister was the director of the effort in his own church and area.

Consideration is now being given to other companies whose employment practices are alleged to be discriminatory, and the Negro community has been asked to "stand ready."

"The whole campaign has been characterised by a growing sense of dignity and strength on the part of the negro community," a Philadelphia Quaker peace worker told Peace News. "There also came with this a sense of the responsibility this group has towards the whole community and a feeling that firmness and non-violence are the tools by which justice can be obtained."

Only the Negro press has given the new movement any publicity so far.

English people support

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(WELSH FREEDOM PARTY)

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peace moves by the Japanese, said a report in the late edition of Tuesday's *News Chronicle*.

Official records of the Potsdam Conference had leaked from the State Department, the paper reported.

While the report adds little that is new to the information previously carried by *Peace News*, it does state that on July 18, 1945, at the Potsdam Conference, President Truman concurred with Stalin in putting off Japanese attempts to get the Russians to act as mediators.

President Truman's own memoirs give the impression that the Russians acted independently in rebuffing the Japanese moves.

Sources of evidence before this week's State Department leak included Sir Winston Churchill's War Memoirs and Captain B. H. Liddell Hart's article in *John Bull*, Sept. 3, 1955, where he wrote:

*The Japanese Government's desire for peace had been known months before. Just before Christmas, 1944, the US intelligence authorities received a report . . . that a peace party was emerging and gaining ground. . . . General Koiso's government . . . would soon be succeeded by a peace-seeking government under Admiral Suzuki which would initiate negotiations. This prediction was fulfilled in April.*

Confirmation of Liddell Hart is to be found in a statement by Admiral Zacharias, Deputy Director of Naval Intelligence, who was reported as saying in May, 1950 :

*Early in 1945 Emperor Hirohito asked the Vatican to find out American terms in preparation for peace negotiations. . . . On June 26 an Imperial conference was called and the Emperor ordered his advisers to prepare immediate plans to end the war on whatever terms Japan could obtain from us.*

## Four try to enter atom laboratory

FOUR men who tried to enter the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory in Livermore, California, following a state-wide Hiroshima Day vigil there, have been freed despite their refusal to accept the terms of probation imposed on them. They are Roy Kepler, Hal Stallings, Sam Tyson and Jerry Wheeler.

Purpose of the attempted entry was to talk with the administrators and workers. The group sponsoring the vigil had sought permission in vain. Dr. Harold Brown, whom Dr. Edward Teller, "father of the H-bomb," has appointed director of the laboratory, had refused to meet with the group. Finally, Roy Kepler succeeded in

Michael Craft, Chairman of the London Region CND which



### COLLECTING FACTS ABOUT FALL-OUT.

In St. Louis, Missouri, thousands of Americans, from toddlers to grandparents, are involved in finding out how much Strontium 90 from nuclear tests fall-out is actually being absorbed by children. *Peace News* next week will tell the story of the Baby Tooth Survey which is engaged in collecting and analysing 50,000 primary teeth from babies in the area. It has been organised by the Greater St. Louis Citizens' Committee for Nuclear Information.

Laboratory work shown in progress in this St. Louis Post-Dispatch picture is being financed by a \$3,000 grant from Consumers Union, an organisation that tests and reports on products sold to the public.

## Non-violent economics urged

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

"INTERNATIONAL 'non-violence' is no longer merely the fond hope of a few

In a full-page article entitled "Non-violent Economics: Next Task for Mankind," he declared that "non-violence must permeate the whole of man's activities if

to action comes at a time when many people are on holiday, but a show of strength now is of crucial importance."

London Region participation in the march starts on Thursday, Sept. 22, when the marchers leave Luton for St. Albans and Watford.

The march will pass through Stafford, where a number of the Foulness demonstrators are imprisoned. Enthusiasm in the town, which has not hitherto had a CND group, is mounting. The Co-op is to provide catering, the police are re-routing traffic, and the Mayor and Council will come out to greet the marchers.

In London on Sept. 3 there will be a 9 a.m.-9 p.m. picket in Whitehall and a loudspeaker tour and leafleting campaign will be launched to publicise the final stages of the march and the Trafalgar Square rally to be held on Sept. 24 when the marchers enter London.

### At Greenham Common

At Newbury, Berks., an "anti-H-bomb" patrol will be out on the A4 Bath Road demanding the closure of the American bomber base nearby at Greenham Common.

It will start at 9 a.m. Supporters wishing to arrive the night before should apply in advance for accommodation to Ted Berrow, "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill, Alton, Hants. (Tel. Alton 2121.)

In Bristol a Disarmament Rally on September 3 will wind up the Direct Action Committee's Industrial Campaign at aircraft works in the city.

Supported by the Bristol Trades Council, the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Bristol Peace Council has organised the rally and march which starts at 2 p.m. at Filton Church, arrives at Horfield Common 2.30 p.m., at King Square at 3.30 p.m., and proceeds via Haymarket to the Cenotaph where a wreath will be laid.

On Sept. 8 in London there is to be a big public meeting in St. Pancras Town Hall to present anew the case for unilateralism and to invigorate support for the march.

Among the speakers will be the Rev. Michael Scott, Alex Comfort, Stuart Hall, Constance Cummings and Sydney Silverman, M.P.

### INSIDE

#### KENNEDY AND NIXON

The US Presidential election surveyed in Jim Peck's Letter from America page six

THE U.S. TRIAL

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## IN PEACE NEWS NEXT WEEK

### The Revolt of Youth

"IF I COULD AFFORD it I'd pay for 50,000 free distribution. I'm like the newspaper girl in the article 'shaken to the shoes.' It's brought the sun out.

"It will have its setbacks. It will come up against organisational wet blankets and some of its enthusiasm will temporarily flop. The impatient will back out, and the older politicians and pacifists and Leftists will try to canalise it into Right Lines and devitalise it into good behaviour and 'practical politics.' Others will say it's unconnected with any basic ideology and will fizzle out. And sometimes they'll look like being right. But it can't be stopped from rushing into a vacuum and it will break out again. In other words it's terrific."

That is what B. J. Boothroyd wrote to us after reading

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which is to appear in Peace News next week. The article by Kenneth Rexroth is slightly abridged from the original which appeared in the USA in The Nation.

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## WAR RESISTERS IN CONFERENCE

THE week-long conference of the Peace Pledge Union and War Resisters' International continued last

Non-violent direct action, used successfully by Negroes in the Deep South of the USA to end race discrimination at lunch counters, has this month achieved a major triumph north of the Mason-Dixon line, where refusal of many firms to give equal job opportunities to Negroes is the principal type of discrimination.

PLEASE POST

August 7, 1960

### TOGETHER

"We Have Done It"

We are happy to announce that the Tasty Baking Company has met ALL minimum requests and assurances of the Negro preachers of Philadelphia.

- (1) There are now THREE NEGROES on the streets working as driver-salesmen, with assurances of fixed routes, and we have the assurance that others will follow.
- (2) There are now NEGRO WOMEN working in formerly all-White wrapping and packaging departments at the plant, and we have assurances that others will follow.
- (3) There is now NEGRO PERSONNEL working in the company office, and we have assurances that others will follow.
- (4) The company has made it clear that there is no discrimination in the use of any washrooms, locker rooms, or any other facilities at the plant.
- (5) FINALLY, we have the assurance that there will be no job discrimination in the Tasty Baking Company and that there will be equal job opportunities for all.

We do, therefore, on the basis of what has been demonstrated, and accepting the company's assurances in good faith, CALL A HALT to the "selective patronage" program against the Tasty Baking Company.

We urge our people to once again purchase Tasty Baking Company products — Tastykakes and Tastyties.

With sincere best wishes for the Company's success and prosperity.

The Negro Preachers of Philadelphia

P. S. — You will be notified later of the next company chosen for "Selective Patronage".

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# RACE BAR

FOUR HUNDRED American Negro preachers of Philadelphia announced from their pulpits on August 8 that they were calling a halt to a gigantic "Selective Patronage Programme" against the huge multi-million dollar Tasty Baking Company of Philadelphia, which has acceded and agreed to all the minimum requests for equal job opportunities for Negroes made by the ministers nearly two months ago.

This campaign, launched on May 29, was one of the most effective ever waged in the Eastern part of the United States to eliminate job discrimination against Negroes. There was participation by all segments of the Negro community in the Philadelphia area, clergy, business, fraternal, civic and youth. It is conservatively estimated that at the beginning of August some 250,000 people were participating in the campaign.

As a result the Tasty Baking Company has for the first time employed Negro driver-salesmen, with assurances of fixed routes; Negro women are now working in formerly all White wrapping and packaging departments of the plant; for the first time Negro personnel is employed in the offices; the company has made it clear that there is no discrimination in the use of any washrooms, locker rooms, or any other facilities in the plant; and assurances have been made to the ministers that there will be no job discrimination and equal opportunities for all.

The Negro ministers have accepted in good faith the company's assurances and now extend their sincere best wishes for the company's success, urging parishioners and others to resume purchasing Tasty Baking Company products.

### Unique feature

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Consideration is now being given to other companies whose employment practices are alleged to be discriminatory, and the Negro